

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
DHA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 COME-00 AID-05 IGA-02
/092 W

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O R 241417Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7638
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 2560

CAPE TOWN FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SF, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR YOUNG SPENT TWO DAY VISIT IN
JOHANNESBURG, MAY 21-22, DURING DURING WHICH HE MET WITH
VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA SOCIETY. HIGHLIGHTS
WERE MAY 21 DINNER HOSTED BY HARRY OPPENHEIMER AND
MAY 22 RECEPTION HOSTED BY USIS. CONTACT WAS MADE
DURING VISIT WITH SSRC LEADERS, DANIEL TJONGARERO OF
SWAPO, CHIEF MINISTER GATSHA BUTHELEZI OF KWAZULU, AS
WELL AS BROAD SECTION OF BLACK AND WHITE POLITICAL,
BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY FIGURES. OVERRIDING THEME OF
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PRESENTATIONS GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG WAS CARTER
ADMINISTRATIONS COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, BUT
DESIRE FOR IT TO BE PEACEFUL AND NOT THREATEN WHITES
WITH DESTRUCTION OF THEIR WAY OF LIFE. VISIT RECEIVED
WIDE MIDIA ATTENTION. MOST OF PRELIMINARY REACTION WAS
FAVORABLE, WITH FOCUS ON HIS REASONED, MODERATE APPROACH.
LATER REACTION HAS SHOWN TENDENCY TO PICK OUT POINTS ON

USE OF VIOLENCE, ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS, AND CRITICISM OF SAG'S TREATMENT OF BLACKS. ALTHOUGH CERTAIN ELEMENTS, I.E. NATIONALISTS AND SOME RADICAL BLACKS, AVOIDED CONTACT, RECEPTION AMONGST OTHER GROUPS WITH WHOM YOUNG MET WAS UNIFORMLY GOOD. HIS ABILITY TO RELATE TO AUDIENCES AND CONVEY HIS SINCERITY, CONVICTION AND RATIONAL APPROACH DISARMED MANY AND IMPRESSED MOST OF THOSE HE MET. ONLY SAG REACTION TO DATE IS MINISTER CONNIE MULDER'S CRITICISM THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG BROKE TERMS OF AGREEMENT ON HIS VISIT. FULLER EVALUATION OF VISIT WILL FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

2. SCHEDULE: AMBASSADOR YOUNG PAID TWO DAY VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA ON MAY 21-22, 1977, STAYING IN JOHANNESBURG THROUGHOUT. UPON ARRIVAL AT 1100 HOURS, ENTIRE PARTY, WITH POLICE ESCORT, MOVED DIRECTLY TO CARLTON HOTEL IN CITY CENTER. MOST OF PARTY REMAINED IN CARLTON, BUT AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT COOKES STAYED WITH MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER AT HIS RESIDENCE. VISIT WAS HURRIED AND FULL, WITH SERIES OF MEETINGS TAKING PLACE ON BOTH DAYS. SCHEDULE BEGAN WITH PRIVATE LUNCH AT OPPENHEIMERS AT WHICH COLIN EGLIN, PRP LEADER, AND OTTO KRAUSE, EDITOR OF FINANCIAL GAZETTE, WERE PRESENT, ALONG WITH MEMBERS OF PARTY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN EXECUTIVES. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND TWO SOWETO STUDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL LEADERS. MEETING LASTED APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR. AFTER SHORT PERIOD OF RELAXATION AMBASSADOR YOUNG PROCEEDED TO CARLTON HOTEL FOR DINNER
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GIVEN BY OPPENHEIMER. DINNER WAS PROCEEDED BY BRIEF RECEPTION AT WHICH PRESS WERE ALLOWED. GUESTS NUMBERED APPROXIMATELY 175 AND WERE DRAWN FROM PROMINENT BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY PERSONALITIES, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE. AMBASSADOR YOUNG DELIVERED ADDRESS THAT WAS FOLLOWED BY QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD. ADDRESS AND SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGES WERE VIODEOTAPED. AT CONCLUSION OF DINNER, AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND MAJORITY OF HIS PARTY ATTENDED FUNCTION SPONSORED BY CLIVE MENELL, ANGLO-VAAL EXECUTIVE AND WELL-KNOWN JAZZ BUFF. PERFORMANCES WERE GIVEN BY SEVERAL JAZZ AND TRADITIONAL GROUPS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG STAYED UNTIL EARLY MORNING HOURS, PARTICIPATING IN SEVERAL OF NUMBERS AND THOROUGHLY DELIGHTING INVITED GUESTS OF ABOUT 70. NEXT MORNING SAW AMBASSADOR YOUNG START BY BREKFASTING WITH 22 EDITORS AND SUB-EDITORS FROM MOST MAJOR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH, IN SOUTH AFRICA. SESSION WITH EDITORS WAS COVERED BY SELECTED PRESS MEMBERS. NEXT ON AGENDA WAS EARLY LUNCH WITH 8 STUDENT

LEADERS AND FOUR FACULTY MEMBERS FROM WITSWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY. AMBASSADOR YOUNG THEN MET BRIEFLY WITH MEMBERS OF UNION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS FOR ON-THE-RECORD SESSION AT THE CONGEN OFFICES. AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND MOST OF PARTY THEN ATTENDED RECEPTION AT USIS. IN ATTENDANCE WERE APPROXIMATELY 60 PERSONS REPRESENTING VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY. RECEPTION BEGAN WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG MIXING AND CHATTING INFORMALLY WITH GROUP WHILE REFRESHMENTS WERE SERVED. THERE FOLLOWED SESSION OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AT WHICH AMBASSADOR YOUNG ADDRESSED THE GROUP AND TOOK QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR. THE PRESS WAS ALLOWED TO COVER THIS SESSION. AFTER RETURNING TO CARLTON, AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD SHORT, PRIVATE MEETING WITH CHIEF MINISTER GATSHA BUTHELEZI, WHO HAD ALSO BEEN AT USIS RECEPTION, AND HIS AIDES. JUST PRIOR TO DEPARTURE AMBASSADOR YOUNG HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HOTEL, FOLLOWING WHICH HE LEFT DIRECTLY

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FOR AIRPORT. HE WAS IN SOUTH AFRICA JUST UNDER 31 HOURS.

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DHA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 COME-00 AID-05 IGA-02
/092 W

-----241614Z 022821 /44

O R 241417Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7639

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 PRETORIA 2560

CAPE TOWN FOR AMBASSADOR

3. AMBASSADOR'S PRESENTATIONS: BASIC THEMES THAT FLOWED THROUGH AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS WERE NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICA, IN ITS OWN INTERESTS, TO ADDRESS INTERNAL PROBLEMS; THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD QUIT TALKING ABOUT AND PREPARING FOR DEFENSE BECAUSE "THERE'S NO ONE TO FIGHT"; THAT NEITHER HE NOR U.S. WERE ABLE TO DICTATE SOLUTIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA; THAT PARTICIPATION OF BLACKS IN SYSTEM, BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL, WOULD INSTILL DESIRE TO PROTECT RATHER THAN DESTROY SYSTEM; THAT CHANGE CAN COME THROUGH THE MARKETPLACE, WITH ECONOMIC ADVANCE BEING FOLLOWED BY POLITICAL; THAT HE HAS FAITH IN FUTURE AND ABILITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS; AND THAT BY GIVING BLACKS A SHARE, NOTHING NEED
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BE TAKEN FROM WHITES. YOUNG'S CONSISTENT EMPHASIS, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, WAS ON NON-VIOLENT CHANGE. AT DINNER ON MAY 21, PREDOMINANTLY CONSERVATIVE, BUSINESS ORIENTED AUDIENCE WAS GIVEN INSIGHT INTO YOUNG'S ADHERENCE TO ENLIGHTENED FREE MARKET SYSTEM. THROUGH FREE ENTERPRISE CAPITALISM THAT WLLowed ALL TO PARTICIPATE, ECONOMIC PRESSURES WOULD LEAD INEVITABLY TO "FULL PARTICIPATION". BUT AMBASSADOR YOUNG REFUSED TO BE DRAWN INTO DICTATING TERMS OF FULL PARTICIPATION. AT HIS DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE, HE ADMITTED THAT TO HIM, IT MEANT "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE", BUT IT WAS UP TO SOUTH AFRICANS THEMSELVES TO DEFINE WAY ALL PERSONS COULD TAKE PART IN POLITICAL PROCESS. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT TO YOUNG WAS THAT THEY START TO DEFINE IT. AT VARIOUS TIMES HE INDICATED THAT ENLIGHTENED BUSINESS PRACTICES, BLACK ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS AND OTHER TACTICS WOULD BE VALUABLE IN "CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH BLACK AND WHITE CAN WORK TOGETHER". HE REFERRED TO FACT THAT HE APPRECIATES FEAS OF WHITES, BUT PEACEFUL CHANGE WOULD NOT MEAN "DESTRUCTION OF THE AFRIKANER WAY OF LIFE". THROUGHOUT YOUNG EMPHASIZED CARTER ADMINISTRATIONS COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

4. MEETINGS: AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD SEPARATE PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH WITSWATERSRAND STUDENTS AND SSRC MEMBERS. IN LATTER CASE, SSRC WERE ANXIOUS TO SPEAK WITH YOUNG BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTOOD RIVAL ORGANIZATION BLACK PEOPLES' CONVENTION HAD SPURNED MEETING WITH HIM. STUDENTS SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN YOUNG'S DISCRPTION OF U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE AND DISCUSSED ADVANTAGES OF

NON-VIOLENT TACTICS, THE ROLE OF RELIGION AMONG YOUTH
AND SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS FACING SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS.
STUDENTS FELT SESSION WAS BENEFICIAL AND AGREED TO MAINTAIN
CONTACT THROUGH EMBASSY. IN CASE OF WITS STUDENTS,
AMBASSADOR YOUNG TOOK THEM TO TASK FOR THINKING THEY
MIGHT BE IRRELEVANT TO SITUATION. HE TOLD THEM THAT ONLY BY
STAYING AND BEING PART OF STRUGGLE COULD CHANGE BE WROUGHT.
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5. MEETING THAT HAD BEEN SCHEDULED WITH DANIEL
TJONGARERO OF SWAPO WAS CALLED OFF BY SWAPO AT LAST
MINUTE WITH REASONING THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD DECIDED
NOT TO GO ALONG WITH AFRICAN GROUP PRONOUNCEMENT IN
MAPUTUO. YOUNG WAS ABLE TO GET THROUGH TO TJONGARERO BY
TELEPHONE AND SPENT FIFTEEN MINUTES EXPLAINING REASONS
BEHIND USG STAND AT MAPUTO AND IMPORTUNING TJONGARERO
NEED FOR SWAPO TO REMAIN IN COMMUNICATION OR ELSE
FACE SITUATION WHERE THEIR CONCERNS ARE NOT
REPRESENTED. TJONGARERO SAID HE MIGHT YET AGREE TO
MEET DURING AMBASSADOR'S TRIP, BUT NEVER GOT BACK IN TOUCH.

6. CHIEF BUTHELEZI, WHO WAS INVITED GUEST TO USIS
RECEPTION, ARRIVED LATE. HE WAS ONLY HOMELAND LEADER
TO ATTEND. HE SAT THROUGH QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION.
BUT AT VERY LAST MOMENT HE AROSE AND, TAKING PODIUM
ALONG SIDE OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG, READ A LETTER ADDRESSED
TO YOUNG. HIS REMARKS WERE CRITICAL OF SAG. HE REJECTED
INDEPENDENCE OF HOMELANDS, STATED THAT SAG DID NOT
REPRESENT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN COUNTRY, GAVE PLEA FOR
DIALOGUE BETWEEN SAG AND REAL AFRICAN LEADERS, AND SAID
BLACKS WANT MAJORITY RULE BUT THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.
AT END OF BUTHELEZI'S REMARKS, HE LED LOCAL MEMBERS OF
AUDIENCE IN SINGING OF BLACK NATIONALIST "ANTHEM",
"NKOSI ISIKELELE AFRIKA". SEQUENCE ENDED EMOTIONALLY
WITH SHOUTS OF "AMANDLA" (POWER IS OURS) AND NATIONALIST
SALUTES, ALSO LED BY BUTHELEZI.

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O R 241417Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7640

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 PRETORIA 2560

CAPE TOWN FOR AMBASSADOR

7. PRESS COVERAGE: MEDIA GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT. GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TV
RESTRICTED COVERAGE TO TERSE COMMENTS OR SCENES OF HIS
MOVEMENTS WITH NO SOUND. RADIO NEWS GAVE HIM SCANT NOTICE.
HOWEVER, SABC "RADIO TODAY" TOPICAL EVENTS PROGRAM MAY 23
CARRIED EXTENSIVE QUOTES FROM USIS AND PRESS CONFERENCES.
PRESS SPLASHED PHOTOS AND ARTICLES OF YOUNG VISIT ON
FRONT PAGES. REACTION TO SATURDAY NIGHTS SPEECH TO
BUSINESSMEN FAVORABLE. MASS CIRCULATION AFRIKAANS
SUNDAY PAPER "RAPPORT" SET TONE WHEN IT SAID "ANOTHER
ANDY SPOKE, NOT THE MILITANT UN AMBASSADOR WHO IN
THE LAST FEW MONTHS HAS OFFENDED SO MANY SOUTH AFRICANS".
LIBERAL RAND DAILY MAIL AND CAPE TIMES SAID YOUNG
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"ASTONISHED MOST BUSINESSMEN WITH HIS POWERFUL, COMMITTED
SUPPORT FOR THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND WITH HIS MODERATE
APPROACH". AFTER DEPARTURE, HOWEVER, PRESS FOCUSED ON
CERTAIN ASPECTS OF TWO SUNDAY CONFERENCES, QUOTING
YOUNG AS TELLING AUDIENCE AT USIS MEETING "HE WOULD LOSE
ALL CREDIBILITY IF HE TOLD BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS NOT TO
USE FORCE AGAINST SAG" (BEELD); "HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE
BLACKS IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC BOYCOTT USED IN USA CIVIL
RIGHTS CAMPAIGN" (RAND DAILY MAIL AND THE STAR); AND
"ACCUSING RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT OF SYSTEMATIC OPPRESSION
AND DEATH DEALING...WITH MINOR QUALIFICATIONS THIS WOULD
APPLY TO SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL". (STAR).

8. REACTIONS: AT THIS STAGE REACTIONS ARE STILL

PRELIMINARY AND WE CAN ONLY OFFER SURFACT IMPRESSIONS:

(A) THERE SEEMED TO BE AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT BY NATIONALIST ELEMENTS TO STAY AWAY, WITH FEW IN EVIDENCE AT BUSINESSMEN'S DINNER AND NONE AT USIS RECEPTION. ALSO, CERTAIN MORE RADICAL BLACK ELEMENTS OPENLY BOYCOTTED RECEPTION, IN PARTICULAR BPC AND SASO.

(B) THE RECEPTION AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS WITH WHOM AMBASSADOR YOUNG MET WAS UNIFORMLY GOOD, EXCEPT AT THE USIS RECEPTION WHERE SOME GUESTS RESENTED DOMINATING PRESENCE OF PRESS. WHERE AMBASSADOR YOUNG COMES INTO DIRECT CONTACT WITH PEOPLE, THE CHEMISTRY WAS HIGHLY FAVORABLE. HIS ABILITY TO RELATE TO AUDIENCES, TO CONVEY HIS CONVICTION AND SINCERITY, AND TO ARTICULATE HIS NON-VIOLENT APPROACH TO CHANGE CONVEYED THE IMAGE OF A MAN DEDICATED TO ENDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT AT THE SAME TIME THOUGHTFUL IN HIS APPROACH TO THE MEANS THAT WOULD GIVE THE BLACK MAN FULL RIGHTS WITHOUT DESTROYING THE SOCIETY IN WHICH HE MUST LIVE AND WORK. REGRETABLELY, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO GRANT SAVC-TV AN INTERVIEW IN A FACE-THE-NATION TYPE FORMAT WHICH WOULD HAVE ENABLED AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO PROJECT THIS IMAGE ON A NATION-WIDE BASIS.

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(C) SO FAR THE ONLY GOVERNMENT REACTION TO THE VISIT IS MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND INFORMATION CONNIE MULDER'S PUBLIC CRITICISM YESTERDAY THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD BROKEN THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ON HIS VISIT, WHICH HE SAID THE SAG VIEWED IN A "SERIOUS LIGHT". WITH THE RETURN OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER TODAY, WE MAY BE GETTING A PROTEST ALONG THE LINES OF THE MULDER CRITICISM.

9. A FULLER EVALUATION OF THE VISIT WILL BE MADE AFTER WE HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE GOVERNMENT REACTION AND TAKE FURTHER READINGS ON ITS IMPACT ON VARIOUS GROUPS.BOWDLER

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, SF, (YOUNG, ANDREW), (OPPENHEIMER, HARRY)
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